1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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534 The large amount of individual variation within the limits of the general type characterizing these rattles occurs apparently also among the Arapaho star-rattles.

796 In the war-dance as it was held when first introduced, there were two men who had wands representing swords, and several wearing the familiar [293] belts of crow-feathers with tails falling behind and projections at the lower part of the back. As among the Arapaho, these belts are referred to the [534] crow. A drum was used, made of a cottonwood board or slab bent into a circle, covered both above and below with horse-skin, and hung on four sticks. Four drumsticks went with it, one of which belonged to the owner of the drum, the three others to three different individuals. The sides of the drum were covered, half with red cloth and half with blue, and the skin was painted half blue and half yellow. When the men who owned the swords, the crow-belts, and the drum, gave these away, which they generally did at [431] the same time, a dance was held. The new owners, in turn, by giving the objects to their successors, would furnish the occasion for another performance of the dance.

The war-dancers dressed quite variously. Some wore skunk-skin strips around the leg below the knee, beaded, and with small bells attached. Some wore similar strips around the head. Others had the well-known upright head-dress of deer-tail hair. Some carried fans of eagle-tails; some, whips; some, painted sticks with attached feathers. The dancing went on in a lodge similar to that of the star-dancers. The owner of the drum had his tent near this lodge in the middle of the camp-circle, and the members of the dance went to him to eat. If the head man of the star-dancers was popular, he was asked by the rival war-company to pitch his tent in the middle of the camp-circle, near the owner of the war-dance drum. There are said to have been no assistants in this ceremony, nor any old men as singers; but four of the wives of the dancers were selected to sing. The two men [624] with swords (kakaat) had functions similar to those of the two mounted men ● [626] with whips in the star-dance. They urged the laggard dancers to get up, and, if they fell down, struck them with their wands. If the man thus struck bore the blow like a man, as the Indians call it, the sword-bearer made him a present; but if he became angry he received nothing, and appears to have been looked upon with ridicule or contempt.

The war-dance as at present given is different from the form described. It is no longer a young men's dance, nor confined to a certain group. All the people of the tribe take part in it. It is very similar in general character to the present-day Arapaho crow-dance, as well as in the place it occupies in the life of the people. Among the Gros Ventre it is now the only dance held.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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had probably had different names before his father's time but that the division into two big groups of "mature, middle-aged" men was always characteristic of Gros Ventre organization. This same informant was likewise under the impression that a man would have to stay with whichever of the two societies he, with his company, had originally joined. Turn Toes said however that he had known a few cases of men who had originally been Stars later joining with the Wolf-men, and of one Wolf-man who afterwards joined the Stars. These known cases, however, occurred fairly late in Gros Ventre history, and probably after the formation of new companies had ceased.

Sanctions of Force

Social sanctions were seemingly the most important means of control. Public opinion was effective in all aspects of conduct. Public disapproval meant loss of prestige and in more severe cases made itself felt by "shunning." It was brought to bear upon the individual in an especially effective way through ridicule, as exercised particularly in the enemy-friendship.[21]

A considerable number of misdeeds, like theft or failure to observe the rules in ceremonial life, were believed to result automatically in supernatural punishment ("bad luck"). Fear of retaliation through witchcraft also exerted a restraining influence.[22]

There were only three situations in which sanction through physical force was applicable. These were, first, failure to obey the rules of behavior promulgated by the society in charge while any one of the Sacred Dances was in progress; second, murder; third, adultery on the part of the wife.[23]

In regard to the first, it is quite clear that in case one of the Sacred Dances had been vowed, the whole tribe had to come together and remain united until the rite was finished. "If the bands happened to be scattered at the time a Sacred Dance was to

[21] For a discussion of the enemy-friendship, see pp. 102–06.

[22] Cf. also pp. 169–70 for a discussion of social and other types of motivation proposed to children. Witchcraft is dealt with in detail in Cooper, Ms., 1949.

[23] A detailed treatment of punishment for adultery is given in pp. 183–90, and will not be discussed in this section.

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what time they should meet the next morning to start off, they dispersed.

Before leaving camp the next day, the party again sang in front of the lodges which they had approached the night before. This same tune was also sung while the party was en route, words being composed to suit various occasions. This tune was known as the "men's song" and was said to have been given to the Gros Ventres by Nihiatu, the culture-hero. Other songs were also sung while the party was away from camp as, for example, on the first night out when they lamented their absence from friends and loved ones.

Various duties were assigned by the leader, and all, but especially the youngest members of the party, were expected to do their part. If a young fellow were "lazy" on a raiding expedition, the leader would see to it that he was punished. An accepted way of accomplishing this end was on the sly to substitute strips of rawhide for the usual strips of meat in the container used by the young man. When the party started to eat, all would watch this particular young man and, as he pulled out the rawhide, they would laugh at him. It was said that young men in this predicament would be so humiliated that they would actually cry. It was a serious matter at the time, and also offered good material to be used later by potential enemy-friends who might have witnessed this embarrassing situation.

Along this line, it is interesting to note the detailed procedure of one man, which may or may not be typical of the behavior of leaders in disciplining members of their party. "This particular leader, known as Eater, a contemporary of Running Bear, was highly respected and feared because it was known that when he led a war party he expected the other members to live up to the high standard he set by his own actions. If, however, he found that someone in the party was not doing his duty, in the evening he would start singing a song which he had acquired through a dream. All the young men would be apprehensive, wondering which of them was to be humiliated. The others would take up the song while Eater alone would dance, imitating a wolf by placing one hand on the forehead and the other behind him to represent the tail. He would circle around, dancing in this manner, until he came to the victim. Whereupon he would stop in front of the

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latter and raise his leg in imitation of a urinating dog. All would know then on whom Eater's displeasure had fallen, and the young man in question would break down and sob. That would cure him of laziness."

Among the important duties on a war party were those of the water-carrier. If the mission were to be performed under more than ordinarily dangerous circumstances, young men might volunteer for the job, but usually the leader chose someone for it. A water-carrier had to have courage and resourcefulness because in order to fetch water it might be necessary that he be sent long distances without guard, and then have to catch up with the group in case the rest had to move. When the members of the party sighted the water-carrier returning successfully bearing the skin water-container attached to a pole, a song was sung by the war party as they marked time by beating two sticks together.[3]

Scouting was another important aspect of a war party. The leader selected two well-qualified men for this job. "They had to have courage and endurance for, while scouting, they would run instead of walk and not eat until their mission was completed." Scouts were called "wolves" and wore wolf-skins as insignia and sometimes, at least, would stick brush on their heads so they could not be so easily spotted against the horizon.[3] They went to high places to look around. If the enemy were not in sight, they might sing, making up words to the tune mentioned as having been sung before the party left camp.[4]

If the scouts saw indications of the enemy, such as smoke rising from a coulee, but without actually seeing the enemy sufficiently clearly to identify them, on their return to the party they gave a wolf howl as they approached and proceeded in a sharp zigzag path. If, however, they had more definite information, they gave the wolf howl and approached in a circular path; that is, advanced, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle and halted. They were then met by two older men who had been successful scouts in their day. While the scouts were approaching—occasionally looking back over their

[3] Recorded as No. 130.
[3] For illustrations, see Curtis, v. 5, p. 176.
[4] Samples of this kind of song were recorded as No. 23 and No. 24.

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A man who was ambitious selected his enemy-friends with care so as to ensure opponents worthy of his efforts. It was said that often an older man whose reputation was already well established chose a spunky youngster. As The Boy phrased it, "This was an honor for the younger man and the older had nothing to lose. If the older continually won out over the younger in a fair 'fight' he ruined the younger man's reputation and thus eliminated a possible rival. On the other hand, if the younger man showed that he could take 'abuse' as well as give it, the older man could go along with him as an enemy-friend of long standing."

Everyone watched with interest the contest between well-matched enemy-friends whether they indulged in good-natured razzing of one another or whether they were concerned with more serious matters. When each tried to out-do the other in bragging of conquests both in love and at war, a large audience was attracted. Practical jokes were expected between them and the more vulgar and obscene their nature, the greater the enjoyment. Whenever one enemy-friend thought he "had something" on the other, he hastened to expose him publicly, so that the enemy-friendship often functioned as an effective means of social control.

When a man publicly taunted his enemy-friend, however, it was well for him to have ample grounds for the accusation lest the tables be turned against him as the case of Bull Lodge and Sits Like A Woman. This was told by The Boy.

"Sits Like A Woman was leading a war party out of camp as his enemy-friend, Bull Lodge, was returning from a hunt. Bull Lodge inquired of some members of the party as to who their leader might be. When he was told that Sits Like A Woman was the leader, Bull Lodge remarked: 'I'd hesitate to meet such warriors as yourselves were I the enemy, but Sits Like A Woman has no shame to lead such great men as you are!' Sits Like A Woman heard this and didn't forget it. The party was a very successful one, returning with 'charcoal' (scalps) and none of the Gros Ventres was even hurt. When they got home they sang around the camp circle here and there as usual. Bull Lodge at the time was entertaining many guests including his brothers-in-law who were seated near the entrance of the tipi. After Sits Like A

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case of necessity pay the indemnity. Other people might say to a man that it was of no use to help that nephew, that he was no good. Yet the uncle did not give up trying to save face for the nephew, and to do his best to shield or rehabilitate him—but at the same time he "talked turkey to him."

Even after a man was married, his maternal uncle had the right of disciplining him. If a husband mistreated his wife undeservedly it was said that his maternal uncle could step in and take the wife temporarily away from his nephew, letting him shift for himself, doing his own cooking and so on, "until he came to his senses." A man would have to take such treatment from his uncle, it was said, because public opinion condemned the husband and backed up the uncle, who was considered within his rights.

Furthermore the maternal uncle would feel duty-bound to protect his nephew from danger. An extreme case was cited in illustration. "A Gros Ventre boy was captured by the Crow when fairly young and he remained among them after he grew up although he could have returned. On one occasion the Gros Ventres surrounded a war party of Crow among whom was this young Gros Ventre man. The young man appealed to his mother's brother to save his life, and the uncle responded by using every argument he could think of. The other Gros Ventres in the party refused the plea, however, on the grounds that the boy had previously had the opportunity to return to his own people, and asked: 'Why didn't he think of his uncle then?'"

On the other side of the picture, if a young man were successful and "on the way up," as the saying goes, his maternal uncle had priority over the boy's father or older brother in helping him by giving generously to him in private and by giving away publicly in his honor as lavishly as possible. It was stated, for instance, that if a young man was ready to go to war, his uncle might go to him and give him a horse, encouraging him to face the enemy bravely and to show courage under fire. He would tell his nephew: "I'm going to watch you. Here is your chance to show what you can do." Thus he might "steal the show" from a father or older brother who themselves might have intended to help the boy off to a good start. Because it was the uncle who did this, nothing would be said. All his relatives would be proud of a successful young

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793 informed one, feasting them and also, *de regueur*, giving payment
*796 in valuable goods for each bit of instruction received. In these instruction sessions, the last keeper usually played the leading role, but the others would coach and correct when necessary or one of them if better informed on this or that point might teach while the last keeper took a back seat. The retiring co-keeper did most of the instruction of the new co-keeper. The Feathered Pipe keeper co-keeper, ex-keepers, and ex-co-keepers would commonly sit in at these sessions, but only as guests, without taking part in the instruction. Lame Bull, when first made keeper, got a great deal of his instruction from Deer, an earlier exceptionally well informed keeper.

793 A ritual relationship was contracted between the new keeper
608 and co-keeper on the one hand and the ex-keeper and ex-co-keepers on the other. All the ex-keepers become "grandfathers" to the new keeper and co-keeper; all the ex-co-keepers, "grandmothers" to them; and are so addressed by these names respectively. The retiring keeper and co-keeper became, as it were, principal "grandfather" and "grandmother" respectively. This sacred relationship was looked upon as very like that between grandparents and grandchildren by blood. Privileged familiarity in the way of vulgar talk and banter, between these ritual grandparents and grandchildren, obtained, but not quite the large degree of freedom that obtained between grandparents and grandchildren by blood.[8] The ritual "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" also had certain recognized
● [626] powers of control over their "grandchildren": if, for instance, one of these "grandsons" went on a berserk rampage and was about to kill a fellow-tribesman, and his own father and mother could not bring him to reason, one of the ritual grandfathers might be called in to reason with his grandson and the latter would have to abandon his angry murderous design.

Keeper's Lodge

342 The Flat Pipe keeper's lodge was a large one, undecorated on
346 the outside except for a portion painted red around the door.

[8] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

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Two general aspects of this socio-ceremonial relationship were discussed in detail with The Boy: the obligation not to refuse requests, and the possibility of abuses arising under the system which for the rest had obvious social values in solving conflicts and preventing bloodshed. 608

What lay back of the sense of obligation to grant requests? The offered pipe was the central symbol, whether offered once for all at the time the ceremonial relationship was first contracted or offered on a specific occasion to a "grandfather" or "grandson" not the offerer's own. The ordinary pipe as offered in either case was looked upon as a sacred thing, as symbolic or representative of the sacrosanct Flat Pipe and/or Feathered Pipe which had been given by the Supreme Being as the most powerful media to pray with, as the most assured means of getting a hearing from the Supreme Being. The offered common pipe was a sort of substitute in the case for the sacred Pipes themselves. The "grandfather" or prospective "grandfather" on accepting the offered pipe, would always pray reverently with it to the Supreme Being before smoking it. If he once accepted the office of "grandfather" to another, he realized that he was assuming all the responsibilities that went with it, among them that of never refusing a request made by his "grandson" without a pipe, or by another with a pipe to intercede with his grandson. It was a sort of implicit sacred pledge into which the Supreme Being himself entered, at least indirectly. He knew that if he ever refused such a request, harm would come to him in some form: he would have to pay the price of his refusal, to suffer the consequences. Whether such consequences would follow automatically or by action of the Supreme Being or other beings is not clear from our field data, but in any case they were in some sense "supernaturally" caused. If people heard that a "grandfather" had refused a request made to him by his "grandson," they would say: "He (the 'grandfather') has sealed his fate." They would immediately lose their good opinion of him,—a social sanction added to the supernatural one,—and would look for some misfortune to befall him sooner or later. If soon after the refusal, evil did befall him, death or other grave mishap, they would say: "That's because he refused his grandson." 626

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608 The problem of possible abuses of the system was explained by The Boy along the following lines. "First of all if an old man had become my 'grandfather' only recently, say just last week and I were a young man, no one would ordinarily ask me to appeal for him to my 'grandfather.' By strict right I could do so, and if no one else were available, I might be asked, but as an 'amateur,' as one lacking in experience, I would not be a good person to ask. An older, more experienced 'grandson' would be asked."

*796 Besides choosing a "grandfather" the vower also selected, as a herald or crier for the Dance, some intelligent old man gifted as an 203 orator. The crier's chief task was to walk or ride around the camp before and during the Dance announcing to the people whether the group would move and other decisions and agreements covering preparations for and procedure during the dance.

If the bands happened to be scattered at the time a sacred Dance was to be held, runners were sent by the vower to bid them foregather for the Dance. All members of the tribe were obliged to attend the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, and pretty surely the Drum, Kit-fox and Dog Dances. As regards the Fly Dance, this was ordinarily held in connection with one of the other Dances, so everybody would be present anyhow. As regards the Old Men's and Old Women's Dances, they were not so lively or colorful, and were held a little apart and the people did not take much interest in them and "did not go much" to them; attendance was apparently not required.

*796 If any individual or group failed to come when summoned, the vower would request the soldiers of the Stars or Wolves as the ●626 case might be, compel attendance.[9] Even a war party could not start out if some one had vowed a dance and it was about ready 701 to begin. So much for the types or personnel,—vower, associates, age-groups, ceremonial "grandfathers," criers, police, and "congregation,"—more or less common to all the Sacred Lodges. Personnel peculiar to particular Dances will be taken up later when each is described. Before describing the Dances one by one, some ritual observances common to all or many of them may be noted.

*796 After the vower of a Dance had chosen his ritual grandfather

[9] For a detailed illustration of this point, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 49-51.

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*796 593 a mistake [ritual?] and besides it was a hard thing to do. I was too crazy yet, they said. At the time my husband's other wife was about to have a baby, and some wanted me to join so she would have a safe delivery, but the others did not let me do it." Then, too, if a wife were in her menses at the time of the dance, she to her embarrassment would have to say so and she would have to be substituted for. If a Crazy Dancer did not have a wife of his own he could borrow one, a sister-in-law or other woman with whom an avoidance or respect relationship did not obtain. Thus Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, once gave permission to his unmarried younger brother, Spotted Bird, to join the Crazy Dance with her, but Spotted Bird declined on the ground of his being too young, although actually Spotted Bird took part in that Dance as an attendant, which made Little Man so angry that he would not give anything away during the Dance for Spotted Bird. "A man," said The Boy, "who loaned his wife to another man for the Crazy Dance had to be a strong man. And before he would lend any of his women he was pretty sure he was lending away the right one who had strong character because it was tough."

When a man made a vow or accepted a challenge to perform the Crazy Dance all and only the members of his own company such as Calves, Holding-on-to-dog's-tail, Having-breast-for-a-pillow, or other,—within the Stars or Wolves as the case might be, joined or were expected to join the dance with him. Actually, on at least some later Crazy Dance occasions, not all the members of the given age-group joined. When the crier announced the coming Dance, some of the men of the age-group involved might make remarks such as: "Well, these old men [the ritual grandfathers] are getting hungry for good times again! They want to play around! They are agitating for the Crazy Dance." And some might bypass that particular dance even though at the risk of being looked upon as jealous weaklings. "If," said The Boy "a man belonging to the age-group to which the vower of the Crazy Dance belonged failed to join the dance, without good excuse, he and his wife would catch it; this would be published, because he did not want to have his wife go through this [the ritual grandfather sex-test]." [626]

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fathers back of them and the wives back of the grandfathers, according to one statement by Coming Daylight; the grandfathers in front, and the dancers and their wives back of them according to another by her. The bows of the "talls" and "shorts" were stuck upright in the ground in two crescents in front of the two respective divisions; the bows of the ritual "elder brothers" (the four councilors?), a little apart near the south or southeast ends of these two crescents.[18]

The chief ritual paraphernalia used in the Crazy Dance were the badger pelt, hoof rattles, whistles, bows, and poisoned arrows. The stuffed badger hide, "trimmed and fixed up," figured prominently in the rites. The bone whistles, hung on the neck of the dancers, were blown by them when dancing. The rattles, θaθanas, sticks about five feet long, with deer hoofs attached in a row along the upper third, were used by the grandfathers who sang, sitting in a row and pounding the ends of the rattles on the ground to beat time.

Each Crazy Dancer treated one of his arrows with poisonous wild parsley, and tied the poisoned arrow to his bow. If the dancer "got mad or any serious situation arose" he would unfasten the arrow and shoot to kill. If the arrow penetrated the skin of the victim or even scratched him, he died. This extreme measure was very rarely resorted to. We were told of no actual instance. When the dance was over these poisoned arrows were carried away to a spot where no one could find them and were buried.

The ceremonies on each of the four days of the Crazy Dance began with the painting of the bodies of the dancers and their wives, the pattern of the painting differing each day. The painting was done in the respective lodges of the leaders of the groups of two to four dancers. Here they gathered with their respective ceremonial grandfathers and "Little Crazy Dancers." The dancer and his wife, or borrowed surrogate, would sit there naked, the woman with legs close together and stretched out in front. This was a source of serious embarrassment to all concerned. The bodies

[18] Kroeber, 1908, p. 242, gives a different arrangement, with which still another statement by Coming Daylight that "the women sat on the west side" insofar agrees.

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At big social or Grass Dances, the people used to be good to these "retired old men" and gave them good seats inside the hall or enclosure where the dance was held. At one such gathering, probably around 1905, a lot of these old men were present sitting in a semi-circle in front of the four chief men. One "retired old man," Fire Steel, Thomas Main's father-in-law and Lame Bull's brother-in-law, a witty old man who liked to talk, came late. Even though Lame Bull was present, Fire Steel said aloud, in a voice that could be heard by everyone: "What is the matter with you old men sitting there? You ought to sing songs of praise. Instead you are sitting there and playing 'it' so women can admire you. But your behinds are all pretty black now!" And everybody laughed. Fire Steel used to get to a dance late and in a tone loud enough for everyone present to hear used to expose these old men's past behavior,—things that they would not want said in public.

Fly Dance

This dance was called no:bao'wə "fly lodge." The word no:bä is at present used for "house fly." Our informants were not sure if the word, as used for the dance itself, referred to flies or to mosquitoes.

The dance was last performed about 1907. Our chief sources were The Boy, Thick and Coming Daylight; some stray data were gotten from Turn Toes, Charles Buckman, Thomas Main and Cora Chandler. Our information confirms Kroeber's description, and supplements it in only a few minor details.

No origin story was known to our informants, beyond the item that the dance "belongs to the flies [or mosquitoes]."

The Fly Dance, like other Sacred Dances, was held only in fulfillment of a vow, a vow usually made in less grave emergencies. In dignity the Fly Dance ranked lowest among the seven Sacred Dances carried out by men.

It was held in the summer, usually around the time when one of other Sacred Dances was being performed. Consequently there was no necessity of sending runners to assemble the people, as

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828 through the winter what to put in the letter (quoted infra, pp. 380-381) sent in the spring of 1943 to Cooper that would do something big toward restoring the latter to health. "'I think,'" remarked Thomas Main, "is commonly used by the Gros Ventres in speaking. When I am interpreting, a man will often say to me: 'Tell them this is what I *think* of him (or it).' There is an emphasis on thinking and on the power of thought."

We come now to the more specific data on good and bad wishing and thinking.

754 828 In 1939 while we were chatting about approbrious and insulting terms, such as tsë:k (you ghost), in common use, The Boy distinguished these from malevolent thinking or wishing or cursing proper. "As a curse [proper] a person might say to another: 'You are not going to live long.' If a thing were serious enough, almost anyone might worry another with such cursing." On another occasion, the same summer, while speaking of the kinds of advice given children by their father, The Boy quoted his father, Lame Bull, as having said: "If a man were offended by his son and put a curse on his son, the curse would remain on the child."

828 [123] Between our 1939 and 1940 visits to the Gros Ventres, The Boy had suffered a severe stroke (facial paralysis). At our first talk with him in 1940, Cooper expressed to him the very sincere wish that he would get well and live long. The Boy was visibly affected by this expression and spoke at some length as follows:

● [626] "If a man does something of which the people disapprove very much, their *thought* is against him. They *think* badly of him. Against this mass thinking his own thinking cannot stand. Two people may have a battle of thinking. The outcome will depend on how each is developed in thinking, on their respective powers of thought. If all the people think badly of a man he becomes a sort of outcast.

"If someone has had some terrible misfortune and is beyond human aid and this becomes known, people will say: 'That is his sentence from above. Someone above thought that out. That is why he is in such desperate straits.' This would be something supernatural, something beyond the human.

"When you said you wished and thought I would live many years

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I was glad. Now your wish and thought are added to my own. 828
The human being can think and reason because somebody supernatural has endowed him with the right [ability] to think. The wishing itself helps."

A few minutes later, after he had told a recent dream he had had, he voluntarily returned to the wish topic. "When a little while ago you wished that I would get well and live long, I believe that at that moment in which you wished this the Supreme Being was listening to you and saw your thought and knew all about it. In my opinion besides your thinking that way as just a human being, your so thinking calls for some action from above.

"Take another example. Suppose I did something good to an old man, and the old man valued and appreciated it. I would not know he was pleased until he said: 'You have made my heart glad. I appreciate what you have done for me. Stand in front of me. I am going to ask in your behalf from the power above that allowed me to live this long. I am asking with my words, my prayer, my thought, my wish, for all I am worth. And all this wish has to be transferred to you."

In 1945 Thomas Main after a long and serious discussion with 626 ●
The Boy and Thick on this matter of mass thinking and public 954
opinion, summarized the situation as follows: 828

"The Indian people, at least the Gros Ventres, thought the psychological effect of public opinion is so great and intense on the one on whom it was trained that it shortened his life . . and made him a nobody. If he had a long, long life it was certainly a miserable one. It was definitely known by the Gros Ventres that they actually thought people to death. Even today public opinion is difficult to cope with. The Boy says that if public opinion held anyone in high esteem, this would have the opposite effect and would help the person to climb the heights he wanted to attain. One who was not held in high esteem by public opinion never got anywhere in any endeavor." We may comment in passing that while there is question here of the ordinary operation of public opinion, mass thinking also seems to enter in: "They actually thought people to death."

In the following account by Charles Buckman the wish appears

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828 pretty clearly to be operative on its own although along with the
754 "natural" morale-building effect of cheering words.
626 "There is an old Gros Ventre saying that if a man is ailing and some relative or friend of his comes in and says pleasant things to him or tells him he is going to get well, such a talk helps him. When someone gives the sick person a good talk and sincerely wishes he will get well, then the patient will do his best and get well. If you say unpleasant things to a sick man you will help to kill him. Don't hurt a sick man's feelings. The wish in the case is looked upon as something like a prayer. It has to be really meant. When a person talks that way to you when you are sick, [782] the Supreme Being will look down upon you and help you to get well. If a person is visiting a sick Indian, he will say good things to you, even though he knows you are going to die. A white doctor might say: 'There is not much hope.'

"When 32 years ago I was thought to be dying of appendicitis and had been given up by the doctors, old fellows came in and talked hopefully to me and put new life in me.

"In 1918, when I was ill with the flu, I overheard the doctor say: 'It is only a question of a half-hour. You better get a coffin for him.' Then another fellow, an Indian, came in and said to me: 'Well, what did the doctor tell you?' I said: 'Nothing.' He then said: 'He told that fellow over there that you are going to die. But he is not the governor of death. You are not going to die. You are going to live. You want to live for these children of yours. You are going to get well, and for the sake of these children. And think of the One Above [Supreme Being]. He's going to keep you. That's all I want to say to you. I wish you will be up in a few days.' And he walked out. It took me two years to recover fully."

In one of the songs, No. 67, sung in the Law Enforcers' Dance, the words, "The lead bull, comes in this direction," were explained [782] to us by The Boy as being a "half prayer." The singer was "wishing as hard as he could, so there would be plenty of game, especially buffalo, so the people would not have to go far to hunt."

525 The Gros Ventre, The Boy stated in 1939, "did not pray for
828 success in gambling," but just before a wheel game started, the player would take the wheel in his hand and hold one of the

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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796 178 533 [625 681] were supposed to come prepared with pipe, tobacco, and matches in anticipation of this song. If, for some reason, one of the four was unable to furnish at least a pipeful of mixture, and could not borrow one, he was immediately arrested by the owners of the whips and punished by the singers who might tear his shirt at the neck so everyone could see it, or, perhaps, pour over him a good cupful of broth made from dog flesh. This broth has a strong and lasting odor. The female officers were likewise expected to give the women singers a smoke. The smoking song marked an intermission. No one danced to this song and all sat around smoking and taking it easy.

796 178 If things got too dull, however, one of the owners of the whips might get up, call the announcer, and say: "Tell my friends that I am going to whip them if they don't dance. I will have the right to whip them because I am going to pay for it," and he would present a bridle, or perhaps five dollars, or something of that order of magnitude, to anyone he wished. It was understood, then, that the next time the singing started this man might hit any person,—even one of the "chiefs,"—who failed to dance.

Another feature reminiscent of the original Grass dance but showing some slight change, was the provision that anyone who wished might have it announced that he was going to "lock the door," which meant that nobody could go home until the dance was over. For doing this however he had to provide all the necessary food for another Grass dance to be held on the night immediately following. It was up to the owners of the whips to enforce the regulation by taking something valuable, say a hat [689] or a blanket, from anyone who left the dance and the article was forfeit if he failed to return.

796 178 626 Based on the same concept, the practice grew up of forcing attendance in the following way. Once in a while the owners of the whips might order their assistants to go from door to door in the whole community and take something belonging to each householder, say a bridle, or a valuable belt, or a gun, and bring it to the dancing-place. If the owner of the object were not at the dance, his property was returned to him only if he promised

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to provide food for the next dance. If he failed to redeem it by such promise, he had one more chance to do so by appearing at the following dance. If he did not show up on that occasion the announcer was told to call out: "The one who owns this bridle (or belt, or gun, etc.) does not want it." Whereupon the article would be thrown in the fire and destroyed.

Although the custom of "throwing away" wives gradually died out, the giving away of valuable property to honor loved ones continued and was elaborated. The following is only one example from many which might be cited as illustrative of attitudes. The informant is now a man in his early seventies. He stated: "When I was a young man I never went to these social affairs. After I married my wife would go with my older brother every time there was a Grass dance, but I would stay at home. This brother of mine used to get after me for not taking part. He would say: 'It is bad to be the way you are. When there is a dance or anything going on, go and look on. You don't necessarily have to dance, but at least be present.' One time in later years the Cheyenne came to visit and of course the Gros Ventres put on a dance for them. I decided to go and for the first time I joined in. When my brother saw me he got up and said: 'Well, my friends, I have been asking my brother to look on and to take part in these dances, and I have never succeeded. But today I see him at this dance and I am glad he is here. I am glad he is joining with us.' Then my brother went out and brought to the dancing-place a new yellow-wheeled buggy and a set of harness he had just purchased, and announced: 'Now, because my brother has joined the dance I am proud he did, and in his honor I am giving away this buggy and harness to the visitors.' Then my brother's wife announced: 'I am happy that my brother-in-law is joining the dance. I will give a beef to the visitors so they will kill it and have meat to eat.' Of course I felt embarrassed. It was hard on me because I thought everybody was looking at me and I sweated. Afterwards I told my brother: 'I didn't go in there for the purpose of having you give away all that stuff in my honor!' But he replied: 'Well, that is the way of our people

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the shots and went later to see what happened, and there I saw her lying across the fire; her dress had burned off and her body was all shriveled. They weren't satisfied to kill her, but they burned her too!" She maintained her attitude and all the scolding from her relatives was of no avail.

Before turning to her adult life, we may refer to another instance which illustrates Coming Daylight's sensitivity to the suffering of others. In the Sacrifice Lodge, which is the Gros Ventre version of the well-known Plains Sun Dance, one of the important features was the spectacular self-torture which the active participants underwent. Each one had a sliver of wood embedded in the flesh of his chest. To the wood was tied a line, the other end of which was fastened high on the center-pole of the lodge. The man, leaning back so that the line was taut, went back and forth until finally the sliver was torn from his flesh. Meanwhile the women cheered on their relatives by "rattling their tongues," singing war songs, and the like, by way of encouraging the men to be brave and see the thing through. Coming Daylight was quite a young child when she first witnessed this performance. She remembered vividly her reaction when one of the young men, in his exhaustion, went to the center-pole and, putting his arms around it, wept aloud. She was not able to stand it any longer and rushed home crying. Her grandmother was very angry with her for leaving in the middle of the performance, but all the little girl could say was: "Oh, I just pitied that young man," and she could not be induced to return to the dance lodge. We may add here that actually in later years she did not participate in the Sacrifice Lodge even so far as women were allowed to do so.

The examples we have given are sufficient to show, I believe, that Coming Daylight had developed as a child a very strong set against violence, against painful and dangerous experiences. She refused medicine power from supernatural sources not only because it was dangerous but also because it involved a kind of physical activity which was repugnant to her. She refused to mutilate herself and was extremely sensitive to painful experiences in others. Her actual deviations from the patterns of accepted or approved behavior all tended in this same direction against violence. Her adult behavior likewise was consistent with this trend in her personality.

In consonance with her feeling against physical violence Coming Daylight avoided as far as possible the rough-and-tumble play in which brother-in-law and sister-in-law were free to, and indeed expected to, indulge. Other women told with glee how they enjoyed "getting even" with their brothers-in-law by, for instance, pushing them when fully clothed into the river, or dumping bucketfuls of water over their heads when they least expected it, and so on; but Coming Daylight admitted without hesitation that she didn't like that sort of thing and never attempted to retaliate even when her brothers-in-law succeeded in playing jokes on her. Similarly while it was not unusual for women rivals to actively fight over a man, she refrained from such undignified behavior, although it must be admitted that she had enough provocation on at least one occasion of which she told me. She had just married a man who was described by others as something of a gay Lothario. A woman who had been trying to force her attentions on him was furious when she heard of the marriage. She rushed to the lodge and pulled Coming Daylight out feet first, yelling insults the while. When the latter regained her feet she made no attempt to hit back even though the other slapped her and pulled off an earring, tearing the lobe of the ear. Coming Daylight, however, bided her time and soon was able to make an opportunity for an exchange of words with the woman at a big social dance.

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Her final rejoinder was such a witty and pointed one that everyone laughed heartily at her rival's expense. In this culture, of course, public ridicule was a far more effective retaliation than the biting and scratching that other women said frankly they would have indulged in when attacked.

Expression of emotional excess was institutionalized for the Gros Ventres, as for the rest of the Plains, in the bereavement situation. Upon the death of a husband, son, or father, a woman was expected to start wailing as soon as she heard the news, have her hair cut off, discard good clothes for old ragged ones, gash her arms and legs, go to the hills to mourn and cry, resisting for a time the pleas of her relatives to return, and being watched lest she attempt suicide. Coming Daylight was only a young woman when she was first widowed and the mourning pattern was still in full vogue. It is certain from other evidence than Coming Dayling had a deep affection for this husband to whom she had been given as a child-bride and in whose kindly and indulgent treatment she had found a pleasant escape from the rigorous discipline of her grandmother. Nevertheless the public expression of her grief was minimal—no abandonment for her. Although her sister was sent on the hills with her to keep watch over her in the usual way, Coming Daylight was easily persuaded to return shortly though she herself was proud of the fact that she had stayed out so long that she actually had got a frozen toe! In later years when all that was left of the ritual was the wailing out on the hills, she lost the son whom she herself, and everybody else, acknowledged as her favorite. She had not been on the hills very long when she experienced a significant dream, as follows. She was in a lodge at the rear of which was a big pile of tobacco mixture and a pipe. The owner of the lodge filled the pipe and approached her. She was frightened because she didn't smoke. The owner of the lodge however told her: "Look at these people." She looked and saw many with their hair cut and their bodies bleeding from the gashes inflicted in grief. The man then told her: "That is in the past. Nowadays your only consolation is in smoking." So she accepted the pipe and, after smoking it, she was painted in ceremonial fashion by each of those other mourners. Then the owner of the lodge dismissed her saying: "Now, go home and don't ever go on the hills and mourn again. But always smoke if you want to." She went home right after this dream and when she told her husband of it he accepted it as valid and persuaded her sister to prepare for Coming Daylight her first real smoke. She maintained that the habit subsequently developed was actually a great comfort to her.

The final area with which we shall be concerned here is the war complex—a vital aspect of the old Plains culture. Gros Ventre women were allowed direct but limited participation in these activities in the sense that, while they would not join a party of men who were going on horse-raiding or revenge expeditions, if opportunity offered they might exhibit the same kind of bravery that a man should show and derive considerable status therefrom. For instance, if one of the enemy fell nearby, the women rushed out from camp to count coup, and to grab trophies with which to inaugurate the relationship known as "enemy-friends." Coming Daylight, however, was never one to indulge in this sport. She told of the one—and to her extremely distasteful—occasion on which her hand literally was forced. It seems that during a raid on their camp one of the enemy was shot and her husband scalped him. The victim was lying not far from her lodge and, as her husband dashed off to pursue the rest of the Assiniboine, he shouted for her to come out and see what was going on. Coming Daylight saw the man lying there, face down, covered with blood. He was not dead